

any Communist school, in any sense very much more than an historic document of the history of the Communist.

Q. What about J. Peters' Manual? A. I never saw that. I never saw J. Peters' Manual personally. I know that I never used it in teaching. I know it has never been used in teaching by me.

Q. Do you know if others use it in the schools? A. Sir?

Q. Do others use it in the schools? A. No, it is never used. I have never seen it. I have never seen it. I have never seen it used.

Q. What about Olgin's "Why Communism"? A. The same is true. I saw that, it is not correct to say I never saw it. I saw it, although I may have glanced through it. But it most certainly was never used in schools, never used in teaching.

Q. What was the occasion of your seeing it? A. In the course of general studies.

Q. Did you teach from it? A. No.

Q. Did others teach from it? A. No.

Q. Do they teach it? A. Pardon?

Q. Do they teach it? A. No.

Q. What about Foster's book "Toward a Soviet America"? A. That is another rather early book, which, as it happens, I have not personally read, which Mr. Foster, I know, had several times to say was obsolete, and which was not used in teaching.

15545. Q. Will you mention some of these working class parties besides the one that you have just mentioned that have taken place in the United States? A. In addition to the Workingmen's Party, there was, for example, the Labor Reform Party, of which Wendell Phillips was a leader in the post-Civil War period. There was the Union Labor Party which was led by Henry George, the writer of Progress and Poverty in New York City. There has been the Social Democratic Party, which was formed in the 1890's. This merged with other groups in 1900, as the Socialist

Party, in 1919—the Communist Party. Back in the year 1870 there was a Socialist Labor Party, which later was headed by Daniel DeLeon, 1870. There have been many workingmen's parties, as well, of course, as farmers' parties, and sometimes farmer labor parties as there are still, for instance, in Wisconsin.

15546 Q. Now, what does the Communist Party teach are the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederic Douglass which are carried forward?

A. Essentially the following: It points out that Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine were great leaders of the great democratic revolution. It points out, of course, that Jefferson was the leading author of an immortal manifesto of revolution, the Declaration of Independence. It points out, and I have pointed it out in my teaching many, many times and in my writing, that some of the essential traditions of

Jefferson and Paine, democratic traditions, are, first 15547 of all, the urging of political freedom, the essence of no taxation without representation, the urging of the right to national self-determination. Jefferson and Paine were leaders of the revolution which had as one of its bases the coming into being of a new nationality, the American, and the democratic right of that new nationality to self-determination, to freedom, to freedom from British monarchical rule. That is the second great democratic tradition.

15549 The point that we emphasize is a classical example of the force and violence coming from the reactionaries with a mass of the people legally, even within the constitutional limits of the British monarchy, demanding the rights of Englishmen. The crown is the one which uses the force and violence, and the people, finally, after much provocation, take up arms in defense of what? In defense of their lives, and their being and their rights of English-

men. We emphasize time after time that it is important to observe that the revolutionary demands of separation from England does not come in until July, 1776, and the battle of Lexington is fought in April 1775. In other words, it does not come except as objective conditions, and the fact that the King has sent soldiers and has outlawed these people and said if we catch Jefferson we will hang him, it doesn't come until there is no alternative, just the self-defense, this organization of resistance. This we point to as one of the contributions of Jefferson.

15637 Q. Now, as a Marxist-Leninist scholar, will you tell us how Marxists understand Lenin's reference to aesopian language? A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us, please? A. It occurs in a footnote, I think, in the very beginning of Imperialism, as I recall.

Q. It is in evidence. I will show you the exhibit.

MR. ABT: Exhibit 140. (Document handed witness)

THE WITNESS: Yes, it is right at the beginning.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Go ahead. A. Marxist-Leninists understand it in the way in which it is printed here, which seems to be clear to me, and that is this way: Not in terms of deception, just

15638 as Aesop himself, from which this derived, did not write in terms of deception. In his stories he was not trying to fool anybody, he was trying rather to illuminate by the use of allegory. That is the fundamental point, to illuminate, not to confuse and not to distort but to light up.

Now, in terms of the use of this under czarist tyranny and under censorship only, and in such cases even there, and as it must be, the use, I think, specifically—For example, Lenin cites Japanese imperialism instead of citing Russian imperialism.

I think, as a matter of fact, that is the specific and only usage that he makes, which is what he is talking about.

Now, is there any distortion in this, any hiding? He is analyzing imperialism. There is the czarist tyranny. If he says Russian it will not be allowed, you cannot distribute it, you cannot get your message at all. If he says Japanese under such conditions, the analysis of imperialism is in no way hidden or distorted.

In other words, there is no substantive deception, there is no deception at all in this sense. This is what the aesopian means.

It is a means of getting through so that you can illuminate and get your message to the people notwithstanding even czarist tyrannical censorship. Not to keep the people from getting your message, or some sort of double talk, or see that you misinform them and they don't know what you are talking about—no. It is the contrary. It is to get to them and tell them what you are talking about despite this obstacle placed by the czar.

15646 Q. How does Marxism-Leninism define imperialism? A. Marxism-Leninism puts its definition very briefly right on the title of this exhibit (Indicating) Lenin called Imperialism, in his classical work, the subtitle, the highest stage of capitalism. That is, we see it as the moribund stage, the stage where it is on its way out, the last stage. That is part of our definition.

We see imperialism in terms of our definition as the time of monopoly capitalism, this is central to our definition, monopoly capitalism. We define imperialism, then, in this way: A social order is imperialist when its basic economy, its fundamental means of production, its industry and so on, is controlled, monopolistically, by a handful.

15647 That is number one.

Number two, when the monopolistic control of industry merges with the financial control of the same industrial monopolists, that is, a heightening of the oligarchy, so that the financiers are the center of control. Marxism-Len-



inism also defines imperialism in terms of this stage of monopoly capitalism where the territory of the world is already completely divided, it is already parceled out.

This is characteristic of the era of imperialism, characteristic also of imperialism in terms of the definition is the glaring fact and the glaring necessity for the imperialists, of the exportation of capital, especially the exportation of financial capital, that is, of investments overseas.

Fundamental also to our concept of imperialism is following from this its aggressive expansionistic, fundamentally war-like nature in terms of getting colonies held by others, taking them, for power, for investment, for strategic materials.

This is the essence of the definition of imperialism, added to which ideologically are such things as typical reflections of racism and chauvanism, in imperialism.

15668 Q. Was there ever a period when the Communists of the United States ceased to characterize the United States Government as imperialist? A. No.

15669-A Q. Have any non-communists, Americans, taken a position on the relation of American imperialists, and the danger of war?

MR. PAISLEY: I object to that. Many people might take the same view that the Communist Party does.

MR. BROWN: Objection sustained.

MR. ABT: May I ask for the record, Mr. Chairman, because this question came up as the Panel will recall, during the cross-examination of Dr. Mosely, when we attempted to bring out the same facts, that is to say, that non-Communist Americans took the same position on one subject matter or another, one policy or another, as the Communist Party, and a similar objection was made by the Petitioner at that time. After lengthy argument; the Panel sustained the objection of the Petitioner at that time. Do I understand the Panel is making the same ruling at this time in our affirmative case

and for the reasons indicated then that it did in connection with our cross-examination?

MR. BROWN: Yes, sir.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Have non-Communist Americans taken a position on other aspects of American imperialism similar to that position taken by the Communists of the United States?

15670 MR. PAMLEY: Same objection.

MR. BROWN: Sustained.

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman, I think in view of the Chair's ruling we will eliminate any further questions along that line.

MR. BROWN: Very well.

15699 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was called as a witness, and having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

#### DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

15750 Q. Are you now a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party? A. I am.

Q. When were you first named to that post?

15751 A. I was elected to that post in the 1938 convention of the Communist Party.

Q. Have you been a National Committee member continuously since that time? A. I have.

Q. Will you state the times when you were re-elected?

A. I was re-elected at every convention of the Communist party where elections were held. I think there was one or two conventions that were emergency conventions that we didn't hold elections. But whenever elections were held, that would probably have been 1940, 1942, '44, '46, '48 and '50.

Q. Were you also a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association? A. We didn't call it National Committee.

Q. National Board. A. During that period it was National Board, I think, or there was some title of vice president that went along with the change, something like that.

Q. But you were a member of the National Board? A. Yes, whatever the governing body was, I was a member of it. I have been uninterruptedly a member of the governing body of the Communist Party since 1938.

Q. Have you been a member of the National 15752° Board of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I have been.

Q. During what period? A. It was then called the Political Bureau, and I was elected to it in 1941, when Earl Browder went to Atlanta. I replaced him on the Political Bureau. Subsequently I was re-elected up to and including 1946. Then there was an interim period when I was not a member of the Board, and was re-elected to the National Committee which replaced the Board in 1948.

Q. What other positions have you held in the Communist Party? A. I have also been Chairman of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party since 1945, and Chairman of the Defense Commission of the Communist Party since 1948.

15756 Q. Have you ever been a candidate for public office? A. Yes, I ran for Congress at large here in New York in the year 1942.

Q. On what ticket? A. On the Communist Party ticket.

Q. Did you campaign? A. I campaigned very 15757 actively and energetically. Q. What was your platform? A. It was win the war. I made a special appeal for the votes of women, that there should be provision made for child care facilities for women workers. I particularly campaigned on that, because it was a burning need of the women workers in the war production industries.



Also for price control, and for the popular issue which particularly concerned women as voters, and also naturally appealing to the men as voters as well. It was a win the war year, and it was a year in which the Communist Party was identified with the struggle against fascism in every way.

Q. How many votes did you receive? A. I received about 50,000 votes.

15761 Q. Have you ever been abroad? A. Yes, I have been abroad three times. That is abroad in the sense of going to Europe, I mean.

Q. Yes. A. Because I had been to Canada quite a number of times.

Q. Other than Canada. A. Other than Canada, yes.

Q. Will you tell us the years that you went abroad? A. The years 1945, 1949 and 1950.

Q. Did you obtain passports for these trips? A. Yes, I obtained a passport in 1945, which I renewed in 1949 and then another passport because the first one had expired in 1950.

Q. Under what name did you obtain these passports? A. Under my own name, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Q. In your applications did you advise the State Department of the countries you intended to visit? A. Yes.

Q. Did you advise them truthfully? A. I did.

Q. What was the occasion for your 1945 trip? A. In 1945, I was one of a delegation, I think about 12 or 13 women, who went to a women's congress for peace in Paris.

15762 It was called by a number of women of European countries who had been in concentration camps and prisons and who issued this call, the largest number of whom were French women. A nonpartisan delegation was organized here, representing various organizations, and I went as a representative of the Communist Party on that delegation.



Q. What was the name of that organization? A. The organization that was formed there at this Congress of Women was the Women's International Democratic Federation. It was set up at that convention and conference and has continued to exist to the present time.

Q. Will you give us the name of some of the other members of the American delegation? A. Yes. Mrs. Muriel Draper, Dr. Jean Wellfish, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot.

THE WITNESS: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Miss Thelma Dale, Mrs. Jeanette Turner. There was a young newspaper woman whose name I don't remember. Mrs. Vivian Mason, and then a WAC in the Army joined us in Paris who represented the CIO auxiliaries from Los Angeles.

15763 By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Was Mrs. Frederick March on that delegation? A. Yes.

Q. And Dr. Beryl Parker? A. And Dr. Beryl Parker, 13 in all.

Q. Henrietta Buckmaster, the writer? A. Yes.

Q. Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown? A. Yes, I mentioned her, educator from the South.

15765 Q. How long did you remain abroad that time?

A. We were gone about three weeks, maybe a little longer, because it took a long time to come back.

Q. What country did you visit other than France? A. On the way over we stopped in England overnight or from Saturday night to Monday morning. That is the only country that I visited.

Q. Did you attend a convention of the British Communist Party there? A. Yes.

Q. And how did you happen to attend it? A. It was by accident. I called up Mrs. Pollitt, the wife of the General Secretary of the Party, and she told me that there

was a Party Congress going on. So I asked the other delegates if they would like to come with me and some of them said they would and some preferred to see Westminster Abbey, so we took those who wished to go to the Congress, and we were guest visitors there for Sunday afternoon and part of Sunday evening.

Q. So that your capacity at that convention was that of what—a visitor? A. A visitor, yes.

Q. Did you see John Gates there? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Under what circumstances did you see him? A. He apparently was sitting in the gallery and he sent me down a note, "For heaven's sake, don't leave until I see you." So I waited for him in the lobby, and I took him with me to our hotel, the Ravener, I think it was, where we were meeting with a group of the British women who were also going to the convention, and he stayed for a while at the meeting of the American and British women who 15767 were assembled there.

Q. And then he left? A. Yes. He was quite embarrassed to be the only man among all this group of women. We were discussing all women's problems, so after he had asked a lot of questions about family and friends, and what is going on in the United States, he left.

Q. In France, did you meet any leaders of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I did. I think I met the top leaders of the Communist Party and quite a number of the women leaders of the Communist Party, as well.

Q. Did you meet Duclos? A. Yes. Andre Marty, Thorez and his wife, Jeanette Vermersch. She was involved in the Congress. I met quite a number of the French women who were members of the Constituent Assembly. In fact, they took us as their guests.

Q. The constituent assembly of the French Republic? A. Yes, they had not set up the final government yet. It was a temporary government.

Q. What was the occasion of your meeting these Communist leaders? A. There was a very large reception given

for the entire group of delegates to the Women's International Democratic Federation by the French delegation, and I met all three of them at this reception.

Andre Marty spoke English very well, and so I had a good deal of conversation with him. He introduced me to Duclos, and Therez, and I had short conversations with them because naturally other people wanted to talk to them.

Q. You say you did have a conversation with Duclos?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was said, do you recall? A. As well as I recall, he asked me, "How is Browder's Utopia getting along in America." I said, "It is not doing so very well right now." He asked me how things were in our country, and I told him we had reconstituted our party and that our party was back on its sea legs again, and that we appreciated very much the contribution which he had made to our discussion. He looked a little surprised, and he said, "I didn't write it for you; I wrote it for our French party—"

15769 THE WITNESS: It was a very short conversation and he said, "I wrote it for our French party because they were in danger of doing the same thing—of coming up out of the resistance movement, and many comrades advocated that we should not reconstitute the Communist Party of France, but we should be a part of the United Popular Front Government. It was necessary for us to carry on a very strong polemic, and we used you as an example." I made an appointment to meet him at a later date, but he had to go away to speak some place, and I did not see him on that trip again.

15770 Q. What was the occasion for your 1949 trip? A.

In 1949, I went over to attend a birthday party, the 80th birthday party of Marcel Cachin, who was the chief editor of Humanite, the Communist daily of Paris. From all parties all over the world people came there, mostly Com-



munists who were connected with newspapers, although we brought the greetings of our party, too, but since he was an editor, the editors of the papers, like L'Unita, of Italy, and other papers were represented there at this very festive and gala occasion.

Q. How long did you remain? A. I stayed a week that time and returned.

Q. What did you do during that week? A. During that week I saw the leaders of the Communist Party. I don't think I saw Marty this time. I think he was away. I saw Thorez and Duclos and the women leaders of the 15771 Party. I had consultations with the women leaders.

Q. Did you visit any other country in 1949 when you were in France? A. No. In 1949 I returned immediately.

Q. What was the occasion of your 1950 trip? A. On the 1950 trip, I went to the Congress of the French Communist Party, which was held at a suburb of Paris, Glennvilliers. On all of these occasions I went to write articles for the Daily Worker. I wrote a large number of articles on all of these occasions. I also went fraternally representing the Communist Party, in a dual capacity.

Q. How long did you remain abroad? A. That visit was, I think, about three weeks, too, I believe. We were there over Easter holiday.

Q. Did you visit any other countries? A. Yes, over the weekend I went over to London, England, and again it seems coincidental, but it is a fact that there was a London Party Congress going on which I had not known about, and which they whisked me off to, a postman's holiday, and I made a speech at that Congress.

Q. What did you speak about, incidentally, at that Congress? A. I brought greetings from the American 15772 Party to the British Party, and I spoke about our common interest to establish peace in the world and spoke about some of the problems that we were having in our country which were analogous to some of the problems which they have there, of building a united front, and fight-



ing for the economic demands of the workers. They were still very bad off. They still had rationing and many grievances.

Q. When you were in Paris in 1950, what did you do? A. You mean besides the Congress or at the Congress?

Q. You attended the Congress. A. Yes, and I spoke shortly, about five minutes, greetings from the American Party to the French Party.

15773 Q. Did you meet any representatives of the Communist Information Bureau on any of these trips?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you make any report on the work of the Communist Party of the United States to any Communist of a foreign country on any of these trips? A. No, I would not consider my conversations were reports. They were merely an exchange of experiences, conversations like any two people would have with certain common interest, in which I asked questions and they asked questions.

Q. Did you on any of these occasions receive any instructions or in effect on any of these occasions receive any instructions or directives from any Communist of a foreign country on any of these trips or any other time? A. No, emphatically not.

15774 Q. To whom do you owe allegiance? A. I owe allegiance to the American people.

Q. Do you owe allegiance to any foreign power? A. No, no foreign power whatsoever. I admit I have a soft spot for Ireland.

Q. Do you consider that there is any relation between allegiance to the United States of America and support of the national administration that is in power at any particular time?

15774-A A. They are not necessarily synonymous, no. I would consider that sometimes my allegiance to the American people, to my country, might be at variance with a particular administration's policy.

Q. Do you consider that there is anything inconsistent or contradictory between your allegiance to the United States American people and your membership in the Communist Party? A. No, I do not. In fact, I consider that my membership in the Communist Party is part of my devotion to and allegiance to the best interests of the American people.

Q. Do you consider that there is anything inconsistent or contradictory between your allegiance to the United States of America and your opposition to the foreign policies of the present administration? A. No, I do not consider that there is any opposition or any inconsistency between my allegiance to the American people and the foreign policy of the Truman administration. Rather the other way around, that anyone, it would seem to me, who is truly devoted to the best interests of the American people must challenge the foreign policy of the Truman Administration and the bipartisan policy which it exemplifies at the present time.

Q. Has the Communist Party ever knowingly deviated from the views and policies of the Soviet Union?

15776 THE WITNESS: I don't think that is a question that you can answer yes or no, Mr. Marcantonio. I think it requires an explanation.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Give us the answer as you want to give it. A. It depends upon what standard one has from which there is an alleged deviation. My standard is, as I have said, whatever is for the benefit of the American people as I view it; and as my Party views it may coincide with the policies of other peoples and other governments, and if it so coincides, it is not necessarily prearranged or pre-decided, but it is because

the best interests of other peoples and the American people are synonymous.

I couldn't say whether we have deviated from everything that the Soviet Union has stood for or not, because I don't know everything that the Soviet Union stands for.

On foreign policy, it is very likely that we have not differed where the Soviet Union stood for peace and stood for the best interests of their people, it would coincide with the best interests of other peoples in the world. That is to say, I think the interests of peoples everywhere in the world are bound to be more or less identical.

15777 Q. Have you completed your answer on that question? A. I could answer at considerable length. I tried to make it brief. If you want me to elaborate, I certainly would be glad to do so.

My understanding of the foreign policies of the Soviet Union, as enunciated in the press, are that they are policies for peace. Our policies, that is, the policies of the American people and of the Communist Party are policies for peace. In that sense, they coordinate or agree, and I see no reason why they should not.

Other peoples, the peoples of France and Italy are also peoples who are struggling for peace, and there are many times, like on the question of quarantining the aggressors, opening up the second front, and things of that sort, where it seemed that there was agreement among the peoples of the world, including the peoples of the Soviet Union, on how best to defeat fascism.

15778 Q. Did you attend the special convention of the Communist Party in 1940, at which a resolution was adopted disaffiliating the Communist Party from the Communist Internationale? A. Yes, I did. I think I was Chairman of that Convention.

Q. Was the subject matter of such disaffiliation discussed by the National Committee prior to the convention? A. Yes,

it was discussed at considerable length by the National Committee prior to this convention and the convention was called an emergency, special convention for the purpose of presenting it to the delegates of the Party from all over the country, that is, the motion of disaffiliation.

Q. Was anything said at the National Committee meeting with reference to the relations which would exist after disaffiliation between the Communist Party and the Communist Internationale. A. It was clearly understood that there would be no further relations between the Communist

Internationale and the Communist Party of the United States as a body. That did not mean that we

did not have comradely feelings towards the Communist Parties of the other countries in the world and were no longer interested in anything that they were doing, but that we had no further official delegation, representation on the Communist Internationale, and that we had no further official relationships with them of any sort whatsoever. It was an open and public disaffiliation.

Q. Did Browder say at the National Committee meeting that after disaffiliation, the relations between the Communist Party and the Communist Internationale would remain exactly as in the past? A. No, he definitely did not say that.

Q. Did he say anything to that effect? A. No, he didn't say anything to that effect. But he said something that might be misinterpreted or deliberately perverted to mean something like that if one wished to twist his words.

Q. If you recall, will you give us the words Mr. Browder used? A. I recall quite clearly what he said. He said that the Communist Party of the United States still believes in international solidarity, and that wherever we were called upon we would express this solidarity for the aims and purposes of other Parties, but there was no such remark that the relationships would remain unchanged, because  
15780 the action definitely changed the relationships.

Q. This statement that you are quoting of Browder was made by him where—at the National Committee?



A. At this special convention, and also at the National Committee meeting.

Q. That preceded the convention? A. Which preceded the convention, yes.

Q. Did any other leader of the Communist Party ever state in substance and effect that there would be no changes in the relationships between the Communist Party and the Communist International after disaffiliation? A. I heard no leader of the Communist Party make any such remark at any time or place.

Q. To your knowledge, what were the relations between the Communist Party and the Communist International after the 1940 special convention? A. There were no further relations, no further delegates went over there to meet in their official meetings, there was no further communication as there would be with an affiliate between the Communist Party and the Communist Internationale, and whatever we knew of them, we knew through the press.

Q. When was the Communist International dissolved, do you know? A. The Communist International was dissolved, I believe, in 1942, that is, two years after our disaffiliation from them.

Q. Are you sure it was 1942 or was it 1943? A. '42 or '43. It was several years later, not too long a period later, but several years later.

Q. How did you first learn of the dissolution? A. I was traveling at the time, and I read a paper in Denver, Colorado. The newspaper reporters brought me a report and asked me to comment on it.

Q. Since 1943, which is the date of the dissolution of the Communist International, had there been any organization which has carried on the functions and activities of the Communist International? A. Not to my knowledge there has been none to carry on the functions of the Communist Internationale.

Q. Have you ever heard of an organization known as the Communist Information Bureau? A. Yes, I have.

Q. Is the Communist Party affiliated with that organization? A. The Communist Party of the United States is not affiliated with the Communist Information Bureau.

Q. Does the Communist Party of the United States pay a part of the money it receives as dues to the Communist Information Bureau? A. No, it does not.

15782 Q. Does the Communist Party of the United States pay or contribute any funds or give any financial assistance directly or indirect or in any manner, shape or form to the Communist Information Bureau? A. No, it does not.

Q. When and how did you first learn of the coming into existence of the Communist Information Bureau? A. As I say, I read of it in the newspaper when I was traveling. It was called to my attention. I think I was at a radio station.

Q. I am not talking about the dissolution of the Communist Internationale. I am now talking of when did you learn of the coming into existence of the Communist Information Bureau? A. The Communist Information Bureau, I think we first heard of that in the press somehow. I don't remember which paper, but in some newspapers.

Q. Did any representative of the Communist Party of the United States attend the first meeting of the Communist Information Bureau back in 1947? A. No, no representative of our Party attended.

Q. Has any representative of your party attended any subsequent meeting of the Communist Information Bureau? A. No, we have not attended. We have not  
15783 been invited, and we have not attended.

Q. Has any representative of the Communist Information Bureau visited the United States? A. Not to my knowledge no such person has ever come to this country.

Q. Has the Communist Party of the United States received any written or oral directives or instructions from the Communist Information Bureau? A. I have never heard of such things. No, not to my knowledge. I would know as a member of the National Committee.

Q. You are in a position to know? A. Yes, I would know if there were any such communications.

Q. And your answer to my question is in the negative? A. Absolutely.

Q. Let me ask you this question: Has the Communist Party received any written or oral directions or instructions from any representative of the Communist Information Bureau? A. No, we have not, not anything that I have ever heard of.

Q. And you would be in a position to know? A. I would be in a position to know. Many requests for greetings, conventions, and things like that, and we always  
15784 know exactly what they are from brother or sister parties.

Q. Has the Communist Party of the United States received any written communications of any kind from the Communist Information Bureau? A. Not to my knowledge, they have not.

Q. Do you read "Lasting Peace"? A. Quite regularly. I wouldn't say I read every issue of it, but quite regularly.

Q. Does "Lasting Peace" contain any directive or instruction to the Communist Party of the United States? A. It does not, no.

Q. Do you or your fellow members of the National Committee consider any of the contents of "Lasting Peace" as constituting a directive to the Communist Party? A. We do not. We do not, absolutely.

Q. What is your purpose in reading "Lasting Peace." A. It has news of the activities of the various Communist Parties in all parts of the world, especially in Europe. It has news of the trade unions and the working class movement. It has news of the struggle for peace. Occasionally it has news about the activities of women's organizations, and generally it has news of activities of progressive  
15785 character in other countries that you would not read in the ordinary American newspaper. So it is of value to a speaker and a writer connected with our Party to read such an organ.

Q. What is the source of your knowledge of the policies and activities of the Communist Information Bureau?

A. What is the source of my knowledge?

Q. That is right. A. Just the paper itself, what the paper reports.

Q. When you say the paper, you mean "Lasting Peace"?

A. "Lasting Peace," yes.

Q. And with respect to your knowledge as to the structure and methods of functioning of the Communist Information Bureau? A. There are occasional reports from time to time of meetings which they hold in different countries, the representatives of approximately nine Parties, I believe, who are affiliated with it, and reports of what their discussions are and any decisions that they arrive at in connection with their organization are from time to time reported in "Lasting Peace."

Q. Since you have assumed your duties as a member of the National Committee in 1938, has the Communist Party of the United States received any directives or instructions from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

15786 A. No, we have not; absolutely not.

Q. From any representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? A. No.

Q. From any official of the Soviet Government? A. No.

Q. From any official or representative of the Communist Party of any other country? A. No.

Q. Or from the Communist Party of any other country? A. No.

Q. Since you assumed office as a member of the National Committee in 1946, has there been a representative of the Communist Internationale in the United States? A. Not to my knowledge there has not been. I never heard of one.

Q. Since that date, has there been any person in the United States who was the equivalent of a representative of the Communist International in the United States? A. No, there has not been.



15790 Q. Since you assumed your duties as a member of the National Committee, how have the funds of the Communist Party been obtained? A. There are two ways that funds are obtained for the Communist Party. One is through dues, and possibly an assessment around election time, that is, an election assessment, through contributions from a fund drive which is usually held once a year. Sometimes it is necessary twice a year, depending upon how many cases we have and what the needs of the Party are. It is a public fund drive to which we appeal to members  
 15791 of the Party, sympathizers, friends and anybody else who wants to contribute to the Communist Party's work.

Q. Since you assumed your duties as a member of the National Committee and a member of the National Board, has the Communist Party received any financial aid from the Soviet Government? A. It certainly has not to my knowledge, and I would certainly know.

Q. From any agency of the Soviet Government? A. No.

Q. And from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? A. No.

Q. And from the Communist Internationale? A. No.

Q. Or from the Communist Information Bureau? A. No.

Q. Or any agency or representative of either the Soviet Government, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Internationale, or the Communist Information Bureau? A. No to all of those questions.

Q. Since the commencement of your tenure of office on the National Committee, has the Communist Party  
 15792 received financial aid at the direction of any of those that I have mentioned? A. No, we have received no outside financial aid whatsoever from any place outside of the United States.

Q. I will ask the question specifically. Has it received financial aid from any source outside of the United States?

A. No, it has not.

Q. Or any financial aid at the direction of any person or organization outside of the United States? A. No, it has not

to my knowledge, and I think I would be in a position to know.

15794 Q. During the period of your membership on the National Committee, has the Communist Party ever sent any representative or member to any school, class or institute in the Soviet Union? A. Not during my membership in the National Committee no. That is since 1938.

Q. Has the Communist Party during your membership on the National Committee sent anybody to any Communist school or class or institute in any foreign country? A. No, not that I know of, not in any other country.

Q. To your knowledge, during this period of your membership on the National Committee, has any member or representative of the Communist Party attended  
15795 any such school, class or institute? A. You mean Communist schools?

Q. That is right, Communist schools. A. No. Communist GI's attended a lot of schools all around the world, but they were different kinds of schools.

Q. I am talking about the Communist schools abroad. A. Communist schools, no.

Q. During this period has the Communist Party sent any member or representative to the Soviet Union for instruction or training in the principles, policies, strategy or tactics of Communism? A. No, not in the period that I have been a member of the National Committee, there has been no such transaction.

15801 Q. When and where did you first learn of the Duclos article on the subject of the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States? A. I think it was from a story in the World Telegram that appeared about April of 1944.

Q. Was that 1944 or 1945? A. 1945.

Q. I want to refresh your recollection. A. You jumped me a year.

Q. The period of May, 1945. A. Yes.

Q. Prior to May 1945, had you heard any discussion of the Browder policy from rank and file members of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I had. There was a good deal of discontent among many of the older members of the Party over the formation of the Communist Political Association. There was a considerable feeling on the part of the foreign born that had been told that they could no longer be members of the Party, many of whom were charter members of the Party. There was discontent among trade unionists, who felt that Browder's concept of a progressive capitalism which would solve all the problems of labor without struggle was a Utopian one, was a fantastic one. As I traveled around speaking, I met quite a good deal of difficulties in 15802 answering questions to Party members and non-Party members. I remember in Camden, New Jersey, for instance, the shipyard workers said to me, "How do you know there are going to be 60 million jobs, just because Browder said so?" "We know the shipyard owners. You don't know them."

I was in Connecticut and heard similar comments the factories are beginning to shut down, and where is this prosperity that we are so sure of. Then I heard a great deal of anxiety among women workers who are being laid off as to whether they would be all thrown out of work and the veterans replace them, and as to whether they would keep their seniority in industry which some of them had won. So there was this sort of general questioning and anxiety among Party members and non-Party members alike as we approached the end of the war, as to just what the postwar period held, and as to whether Browder's prophecies in relation to the postwar period were valid or whether it was just a lot of fantasy on his part. I think the workers had the feeling that there was a lot of fantasy connected with it.

Q. Prior to May, 1945, when you first learned of the Duclos article, were there any discussions in the National Board with reference to the Browder policy? A. Yes, there had been.



Q. Will you tell us about them? A. Yes. Several  
 15803 members of the National Committee — because a  
 good many of them traveled around, John William-  
 son traveled around a good deal and he got the same union  
 reactions I got, and he also was organization secretary of  
 the Party—and he said the Party membership was falling  
 off, that is, the CPA membership, and that there was not  
 the same enthusiasm for the Party that there had been pre-  
 viously. He felt that there had to be organizationally a re-  
 evaluation of policies. Then I remember that Eugene Den-  
 nis and Gil Green, at one meeting, proposed that there  
 should be a special gathering of the National Committee, a  
 plenum, a large meeting of the National Committee, where  
 the whole question of postwar prospectives would be re-  
 viewed in light of the changes that were taking place in the  
 country. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the Negro leader of our  
 Party, was very much concerned and raised the question as  
 to the rights of the Negro people—were they being properly  
 safeguarded, were there guarantees that they would be safe-  
 guarded after the war was over, and what would be the place  
 of Negro people in industry after the war was over, and  
 the returning GI's, especially the Negro GI's were a matter  
 of great concern to Benjamin J. Davis.

I remember some questions on the part of Stachel, but  
 William Z. Foster, the Chairman of the Party, at  
 15804 every meeting of the National Committee, in one  
 form or another, raised objections to the Browder  
 policy and questioned it.

I remember once he had a list of something like 50 ques-  
 tions that he said the Browder policy did not answer, and  
 would have to be answered before our Party went into the  
 postwar period approaching workers, Negro people, women  
 workers; et cetera, that these questions just simply had to  
 be answered, and that the Browder policy had not answered  
 them.

So I would say that there was quite a ferment and at the  
 same time because we were still in the war and there was a

question of winning the war, it was a controlled and disciplined ferment, because no Communist wanted to do anything to upset the war effort. It was projected to the post-war period, what is going to happen in the postwar period, and will the Browder policies fit the postwar period, and a scepticism, a questioning as to whether that would be possible.

15807 Q. Were you ever told by anyone that Manuïlsky had said that the Communist Party should take guidance from the French Communists? A. No, sir, I never heard of any such thing.

Q. Did anyone ever tell you that Manuïlsky had used words to that effect? A. No, not until the witness said so from the stand at Foley Square.

15808 Q. When he was testifying for the government in that case? A. Yes, he was the government witness in that case against the 11 leaders of the Party.

Q. After you first learned of the publication of the Duclos article, did you receive a copy of it? A. Yes, I think first we had mimeographed copies of it, and then it was published in the Daily Worker with an introduction or something by Browder.

Q. Did you read it? A. Yes, I read it very carefully.

Q. Did you consider it a directive or instruction or an order to the American Communists? A. No, I did not. I considered it an article which had been written in a theoretical magazine in France by a leading French Communist, a leader of the resistance movement, a man who was greatly respected, and that naturally we should give it consideration. But I didn't consider it a directive to our party.

Q. And was the Duclos article discussed by the National Committee and the National Board of the Communist Political Association? A. Yes, it was. It was discussed.

Q. You attended the discussions? A. Yes, I attended all of the discussions.

Q. You participated in the discussions? A. Yes.

Q. In that discussion did anyone say that the Duclos article constituted a directive, instruction or order to the American Communists? A. No, quite to the contrary, it was in the spirit which I have expressed, that it was given consideration, that it was an article which was critical, it dealt with certain American policies which we should read and could accept or reject, just as we pleased. It was no directive; it was his opinion. It was one man's opinion in another country.

Q. Did anyone say that it should be considered as a directive or order to the American Communists? A. No, quite to the contrary, that it was not such.

Q. Did anybody say that it was such in that discussion? A. No.

Q. Did anyone use words that were in substance or effect that this article was to be considered as an instruction, directive or order? A. No, no such language was used.

Q. What was the significance of the Duclos article 15810 to you and the members of the National Committee or the National Board of the Communist Political Association at that time? A. As I said, there was a great deal of ferment and discussions going on in our Party, and it was of great interest to us, naturally, that in a sister Party in another part of the world that such an article should be published in a theoretical magazine, and we would give it our attention. I doubt very much if we would have given it the same attention, possibly six months before, but the changing conditions of our country as reflected in the discussions in our own Party sharpened our interest in what the leader of a sister Party had to say. In that sense, and in that sense only, was the article read and discussed.

Of course, the text of the article deals a great deal with what Browder said and what Foster said. In fact, the totality of the article is almost entirely quotations from what Browder said and what Foster said and then comment of Duclos. Included in the article was the purpose of the



article which he later, as I testified, he said to me in Paris that it was the fear that the French Party membership might go the same way and follow the Browder line, which they considered to be a great disaster to their Party and that is why they were so sharp in their criticisms. It was their own Party business that they were concerned with, that their Party should not make such a mistake  
 15811 as they felt that the American Party had made in dissolving the Communist Party and setting up some kind of a non-political association.

15815 Q. Were you ever advised by anyone that Browder's position had been upheld or approved from abroad? A. No. In fact, contrary-wise we knew some parties did not approve of it, notably the Australian Party, which had gone on record as opposing the policies of Browder. Browder, I believe, had written them a letter asking them their views, and they had very sharply dissented from Browder's views.

15848 Q. Miss Flynn, have you ever read any of the following: The 21 Conditions for Admission to the Communist Internationale? A. No, I haven't read all of those. I have heard some of them read in proceedings, but I have not read them all.

Q. The Resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Internationale? A. No, I don't know about that.

Q. Peters Manual on Organization? A. Only the sections that I have heard read in court proceedings.

Q. When you say sections read in court proceedings, what do you mean by that? A. In our trial downstairs, the government has been reading sections and sections  
 15849 were read in the trial of the first group of Foley Square and I have read the record.

Q. So that that is the first and only time that you have had occasion to read of anything in Peters Manual on Organization? A. That is correct.

Q. Have you ever read O'Brien's book entitled, "Why Communism"? A. No, the answer would be the same. Those sections which have been read into proceedings, I have read. But the pamphlet or book or whatever it is, as a whole, I have not read.

Q. And Foster's Book "Toward a Soviet America? Have you read that? A. I have not read that in full either.

Q. In your speeches, writings and lectures at the Communist Party schools, have you made references to any of these books or pamphlets that I have mentioned? A. No, I never have.

Q. Since 1938, when you became a member of the National Committee, has the leadership of the Communist Party considered that any of these works correctly sets forth the views of the Communist Party and its policies?

A. I would consider that practically all of those items which you have mentioned are considered obsolete by the leadership of the Communist Party. In fact, the book

15850 "Soviet America," Mr. Foster has himself repudiated, and as far as Peters Manual is concerned, I once asked the educational director of our Party, Miss Gannett, about it, because I heard discussion of it, and she said forget it, it is out of date.

16016 CROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. PAISLEY:

16050 Q. You say you went to Europe in 1945, 1949, and 1950, under your own name and advised the State Department truthfully of the countries that you were going to visit? A. That is correct.

Q. Did you tell the State Department that you  
16051 were a Communist? A. Yes, I gave my occupation, and I went as a representative of the Communist Party in 1945, when the first application was made. In fact, passports were not issued in 1945 very generally, and a bloc of passports were issued to the delegates in which I believe the French Government also intervened and made a request

to the State Department that it should be expedited.

Q. The occasion of your visit in 1945, it was to attend the Women's Congress for Peace? A. That is right.

Q. You say that Congress did not have sinister aspects attributed to it by John Lautner? A. I don't know the Lautner testimony in relation to the Congress.

Q. Why did you make the statement? A. I know it had no sinister aspects, so if he so testified, he was wrong.

Q. Why did you make the statement that he did attach to it sinister aspects if you didn't know what you were talking about? A. I knew what I was talking about, Mr. Paisley. The attorney asked me—

16076 Q. You say that you did exchange experiences with foreign Communists on these visits over there? A. Naturally.

Q. Would that include Russian Communists? A. No, I had no discussion with Russian Communists.

Q. None whatever? A. Outside of the women. I didn't meet any other Russian representatives.

Q. How many Russian women? A. Oh, there were 16077 about 25 or 30 Russian women at the delegation.

Q. One of the prime principles of the Communist Party here and in Russia is that there shall be no male chauvinism, isn't that so? A. That is very correct, Mr. Paisley.

Q. You women want to participate 100 per cent in everything that goes on? A. That is very correct.

Q. Here, and there, too. A. Everywhere, yes.

Q. So you did talk to Russian Communists. A. I talked to Russian women, and I presume these women were Communists. I talked to Russian women. We talked about all kinds of things, child care after the war, we talked about the reconstruction of the countries, we talked about the rights of women.

Q. Were they Communists or not? A. I know that Madam Popova is a Communist. Whether every one in that delegation was a Communist or not, I don't know. There were not



all Communists in every delegation. There were people who had been very heroic in the resistance movement. I could not swear under oath that every single woman in that delegation was a Communist.

16083 Q. Are you telling this Panel that the Daily Worker, whether you wrote it or not, or Political Affairs, has not constantly supported the Soviet Union at all times when the views and policies of that country differed with those of the United States? A. If the Daily Worker and Political Affairs articles did so support the policies of the Soviet Union, it was because the writers believed that they were correct policies, as I have tried to explain.

Q. Don't you consider that an evasive reply?

16084 THE WITNESS: I don't think I can answer yes or no. I would like to explain my answer.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. All right, explain it. A. It is probably true that by and large the articles in the Daily Worker and the Political Affairs and very likely any articles which I wrote which involved specific details about the Soviet Union did agree with policies which were enunciated by the Soviet Union, because those writers and myself believed that those particular policies were right. As we see it, a socialist country is different from a capitalist country, and the policies of that country will be by the nature of things peaceful and by the nature of things for the best interests of their people.

Now, it is our opinion that a peaceful policy is then to the best interests also of the American people, and we believe that the best interests of the people of the Soviet Union and the people of this country coincide. We have never taken the position—I certainly never have in my writing—that was in any way contradictory to the best interests of the American people as I conceive them.

16085 Q. And you say that that is the reason why you can not cite a single instance when the views and

policies of the Soviet Union were criticized in the Communist press, and not because you Communists owe allegiance to the Soviet Union? A. That is correct. It is not because of this false charge of allegiance to the Soviet Union. It is because of, as I stated, the fact that we believe that the best interests of the American people and the people of the Soviet Union coincide and if our administrations acted in that spirit, there would be peace between these two great countries, and they together with England and France and China could guarantee and establish peace in the world.

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16093 Q. All right. Let us consider that that is the fact. The Party then was a member of the Communist Internationale from 1921 until the time it withdrew. A. Until the time it withdrew. That is the best of my knowledge and belief, yes.

Q. And you say the resolution of disaffiliation was discussed in the National Committee previously? A. That is right.

Q. You were then on the National Committee. A. That is correct.

Q. And you say it was clearly understood that there will be no further affiliations, but we still had comradely feelings. Did you so testify? A. Yes, that we were not disaffiliating in anger, or disaffiliating to fight the Communist Internationale. It was, you might say, a friendly divorce.

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16099 Q. You say, Miss Flynn, that to your knowledge there has never been a Communist Internationale representative in this country? A. Yes, that is correct, to my knowledge there never has been.

Q. You mean to say that Eisler was not? A. No, Eisler was not to my knowledge a Communist Internationale representative.

Q. Did you ever see him in the Communist Party headquarters building? A. No, I don't think I ever met

16100 him in the Communist Party headquarters building.  
I have no recollection of it.

Q. Do you know whether or not he submitted articles for publication in the Daily Worker? A. No, I don't know whether he did or not.

Q. You testified for him? A. Pardon me?

Q. You testified for him in his trial. A. Yes, I testified as to a particular point that arose in his trial on associate membership in our Party.

Q. Did you know him as Hans Berger? A. No, I didn't know him as Hans Berger. I only knew him as Gerhardt Eisler.

Q. You didn't know him as Edwards? A. No, I never heard of him as Edwards.

Q. Was he just in retirement over here in the United States? A. My understanding is that he came to the United States as a political refugee from the Nazis on his way to Mexico, and was held up here in the United States, and that he never intended to remain in the United States. He wanted to go back to his own country.

Q. How long did he stay? A. He was ready to  
16101 leave and take his trip about the time he was arrested.

Q. You didn't answer my question. We can get through if you will answer my question. A. I don't know how long he stayed. I don't know the exact date of when he came and I don't know the exact date when he left. A few years.

16112 Q. You say you read Gates' testimony. Did you read both the direct and the cross? A. I read it as thoroughly as I could. I mean, Mr. Paisley, I didn't read every single word of it, because it was handed to me about the day before I came here. I just could not read the whole thing, every word. I tried to get the gist of it. I tried to get the full meaning of it, yes.

16118 Q. Did you write any criticism of Browder before the Duclos article came out? A. No, I don't think I did.

Q. Did you denounce him in any public speech before it came out? A. May I correct you, Mr. Paisley. There was no Duclos letter. It was an article. Did you say letter?

Q. I thought I said article. A. No, I don't think I did.

Q. Did you ever denounce him to his face before the Duclos article came out? A. We had some very heated discussions within the Executive Committee meetings of the National Committee, yes.

Q. And that was when he was general secretary of the Party? A. That is right. Well, he was President of the Communist Political Association at the time.

Q. Did any other Communist Party leader to your knowledge write anything derogatory of him before the Duclos article came out? A. The name of Earl Browder may not have been mentioned in such articles, but there were articles written by Mr. Foster which did criticize the policies of Earl Browder and which any Party member would understand were criticisms of him.

Q. Are you referring to the famous Foster letter that was suppressed? A. No, even prior to that. I recall there was an article in the magazine "Masses," in which Browder made the remark that Foster seems to be following one line and I seem to be following another, and introduced this article to the National Committee in protest.

Q. The Foster letter was not released over here to the membership before it appeared in the Duclos article, was it? A. Not to the membership. It was made known to the National Committee.

Q. And was suppressed? A. In the sense that it 16120 was not made know to the membership, yes, that is correct.

Q. And didn't Browder agree to that suppression as a tactical measure during the United Front Period? A. You mean Foster?



Q. I mean Foster. A. Yes, he so stated, not just the United Front period, not to create disunity within the Party during the war.

16128 Q. Did you ever disagree with Joseph Stalin?

A. Mr. Stalin has expressed opinions on a great many subjects, and I am not qualified to answer. I don't know whether I agree with him on every subject.

16129 MR. BROWN: That is not the question.

THE WITNESS: I just don't know.

MR. BROWN: The question was not did you always agree with Mr. Stalin. Did you ever disagree with him was the question.

THE WITNESS: No, I have never disagreed with him.

16134 Q. Has the Communist Party in the United States taken a position on the charge of germ warfare made by the Russians against the United States?

THE WITNESS: I don't think that charge is made by the Russians. I think that charge has been made by an international—

MR. BROWN: The question, Miss Flynn, is: Has the Communist Party taken any position in regard to it?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

THE WITNESS: I object to calling it a charge by the Russians.

16137 Q. Do you take any position as to whether or not the charge is true? A. When a charge is made by so many different people in different parts of the world, it certainly is worthy of very careful investigation and not just flat denials.

Q. Do you believe it is true? A. I believe it is true, yes, I am sorry to say as an American.

Q. But you have no personal knowledge of the facts?  
 A. I haven't been in Korea, Mr. Paisley, no.

16142 Q. Isn't it a fact that every document in writing, such as the ones I have just mentioned, which may have a tendency to prove domination and control from abroad, the advocacy of force and violence, and the purpose of the Communists in this country to bring about a Soviet America, are at this time in this day referred to by you Communists as obsolete?

16143 THE WITNESS: I testified that in the instance of at least one of these books, I was told that practically at the time I joined the Party that the book was out of date. Mr. Foster many years ago testified before Congressional Committees that he considered his book was immature and incorrect and he repudiated the ideas in that book. That is not 1952, that is quite a long time ago.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. He also repudiated his statement that the Red Flag was the flag of the workers of this country; too, didn't he?  
 A. Yes, he did. He said he thought it was sectarianism, leftism, and so forth.

Q. He at one time made the statement, did he not? A. He made the statement.

Q. When did he repudiate it? A. Before one of these Congressional Committees.

Q. When? A. I don't know the exact date, Mr. Paisley. It is a long time ago.

Q. Do you have any recollection at all? A. I think it would be in the late thirties or early forties.

Q. Late thirties? About 1939? A. Yes.

Q. About the time that Gitlow testified openly  
 16144 down there? A. I didn't keep track when Gitlow testified.

Q. You were on the National Committee at that time, were you not? A. Yes, I was on the National Committee.

Q. So that for 20 years in these United States, he has not openly repudiated that statement?

Q. Is that right? A. I don't know when he made the statement in the first place. I do know he repudiated the statement. That is to the best of my knowledge.

Q. When did he write "Toward A Soviet America"? A. He must have written that a long time ago, too. I don't know. Probably in the period that I was in Oregon because I don't remember the book being published.

Q. Has the Party in the United States ever engaged in espionage directly or indirectly to your knowledge? A. It has not.

Q. Has it ever aided by furnishing any members of the Party to so engage? A. It has not.

Q. Did any Party leader, including Browder, ever  
16145 furnish any members of the Party, or recommend  
any members of the Party, to engage in that type of  
activity? A. To my knowledge during the period that I have  
been a member of the Party I know of no such transactions.

Q. Have any members of the Communist Party in this country ever been convicted of espionage? A. No, I don't think anyone ever has been.

Q. Was Harry Gold a member of the Party? A. I don't think so.

Q. Were the Rosenbergs members of the Party? A. I think not.

16148 **Herbert Aptheker** was recalled as a witness, and hav-  
16149 ing been previously duly sworn, was examined and  
testified further as follows:

#### CROSS EXAMINATION

16246 Q. You wouldn't even state that at the time the policy of self-determination of the Negro people and the Black Belt was enunciated by the party that it was the policy advocated by the majority of the Negro people; or even a majority of their leaders, would you? A. No. No, not in the developed sense in which the party put it forward. It still isn't.

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16252 Q. If the Communists were successful in gaining control of government in these countries which currently have Bourgeois governments, would opposing political parties be allowed to exist and publicize their views? A. They would.

16253 Q. For how long? A. For as long as different classes existed. With the existence of different classes there are different parties.

Q. But it would be the purpose of the Communist Party if it had control of such a government to stamp out all classes but the working class, would it not? A. What do you mean by "stamp out"?

Q. Eliminate by any means by which they might be able to exert power? A. No, that is wrong. The way you put it is false.

Q. Would the Communist Party share the leadership with any other political party? A. When?

Q. If it were able to get into a position of leadership in a country, would it be willing to share that leadership with some other party? A. Not only would it be willing, it is willing. It shares it now, for instance, in China. Five or six or seven or eight parties are a part of the Chinese government at this point. The same is true in North Korea.

Q. Parties independent of the Communist Party? A. That is right.

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16259 Q. Would an anti-Communist Party press be permitted to exist once the Communist Party has gained



the position of leadership in a country? A. Yes. There are anti-Communist press—I won't say anti—there are non-Communist presses which exist in, are and continue to exist, though the Communist Party is in leadership. By the way, this happened in the Soviet Union.

Q. Would an anti-Communist Party press be— A. Yes, I would say it would, and it did in the Soviet Union for a time.

Q. For how long? A. For how long?

Q. Yes. A. Until there developed a sufficient unanimity on the part of the social order and of the people that it became clear that this press was a press in the pay of the interventionists and counter-revolutionary. It is then that it is not permitted. It is exactly the same as after the American Revolution. During the American Revolution, for 10, 12, 14, years, no Tory press was permitted in any area controlled by the American revolutionists, because this was not a difference of opinion, this was an expression of clear and open treason at the moment's crisis.

16331 Q. All right, do they have democracy in the Soviet Union? A. In the Soviet Union they have what they call democracy, proletarian democracy, that is, the democracy commensurate with a socialist society.

Q. Democracy as used in the United States includes such concepts as freedom of the press, freedom to maintain religious institutions without the control of the government, freedom to maintain political parties, whose objectives are to vote out the men holding national office and vote in different men, freedom to advocate a change in our economic system by constitutional means, freedom to oppose the policies of duly elected leaders, such freedoms as that, does it not?

A. Is that what democracy means in the United States, is that what you are asking?

Q. I am asking you democracy as used in this country, when we talk about the term "democracy," democratic rights, we are speaking about such things as I enumerated;

now, would you like me to enumerate them separately so you could say yes or no individually? A. Well, it doesn't matter whether you do it; we are speaking about a  
 16332 Bourgeois democratic republic in which such rights have been achieved by the people after generations of very bitter struggle. That is what we are speaking about, yes. That is what I am talking about.

Q. Do these freedoms exist in the Soviet Union?—would you like me to take them separately? A. Sure.

Q. Freedom of the press, does that exist in the Soviet Union? A. Yes.

Q. Freedom to maintain religious institutions without the control of the government? A. Yes.

Q. Freedom to maintain political parties whose objective is to vote out the men holding national office and vote in different men? A. Impossible to exist; again, freedoms of— are not nebulous, freedoms are concrete. Such a freedom is impossible to exist because there is one class. Parties reflect classes. If you have one class, a Mr. Calhoun knew in 1828, practically every other political economist from Aristotle up knew if you have one class you are going to have one political party, therefore this freedom is not applicable to a socialist society such as, for example, the freedom to own slaves is non-applicable to our society. Nobody is free to do that. They used to be, but they are not any more.

16333 Q. Freedom to advocate a change in the economic system by constitutional means? A. Well, not really; again, it is academic. Of course, if you speak of the movement of socialism and Communism, which is a great economic change, you are not only free to advocate; everybody is doing the best he can to bring it about.

Q. Freedom to oppose the policies of the duly elected leaders? A. By all means, with the most severe criticism.

16346 Q. What position does Mr. Molotov hold? A. I am not positive, but he holds a high position.

Q. How about Manlenkov? A. I testified yesterday that I don't know his title.

Q. You know that both of these gentlemen hold positions of great authority, do you not? A. Yes.

16348 Q. But you deny that the government of the Soviet Union is in the form of a dictatorship of a political party? You deny that? A. That is right. It isn't a dictatorship of a party. It is a dictatorship of a class.

16389 Q. Members of the Communist Party are urged very strongly to read the Daily Worker regularly, are they not? A. Yes, they are.

16420 Q. As a witness in this case, do you stand disinterested as between the parties? A. No, I am not disinterested.

16421 Q. Would you say that you are profoundly interested in the outcome of this case? A. Yes. All Americans are.

Q. You so testified in Baltimore, did you not, when you testified in that case for the Communist defendants? A. Yes. I said I was profoundly interested in the case.

Q. Did you not testify that your interest in that case was that the democratic way of life was at stake, that the fact of freedom, that the fact of peace, everything you valued, more than your life, you thought was involved there?

16422 Did you so testify? A. I think that is an accurate quotation, Mr. Paisley.

Q. And is your interest in this case on the same level? A. Yes, I am profoundly concerned about this case.

16440 Q. Were you consulted about the answer that the Communist Party filed in these proceedings? A. The answer?

Q. Yes, A. Do you have it? That would refresh me.

Q. I have a copy of it here, if you want to look at it. A. Just so I can know exactly what you are talking about, Mr. Paisley.

Q. It is filed by Gus Hall. A. Just so I can see what it is.

Q. It is called an amended answer. (Handing to the 16441 witness). A. I see. Yes. Yes, I was asked to pitch in, make some suggestions of a historical character. I said, yes, immediately as I saw page 4, where there is a quotation from Metternich, for instance. I remember very distinctly that I offered that, because I thought that that was to the point.

Q. How long were you employed in working on the answer?

A. What do you mean by employed? Was I paid? Is that what you mean?

Q. How much time did you devote to it? That is a very simple question. A. I appreciate the simplicity. That again would have to be a very approximate answer. I don't know. I'd say a few hours. It might have been three and a half or four and a half hours dispersed over evenings.

16455 Q. You spoke about imperialism. I want to get this straight. Do you Communists in the United States contend that the United States is a leading imperialist nation of the world? A. Yes.

Q. And that the Soviet Union is not? A. The Soviet Union is not an imperialist nation.

Q. That's exactly what the Soviet Union contends, 16456 isn't it. A. I believe so.

Q. Yes. Have you ever written or said anything 16457 that is opposed to the views and policies of the Soviet Union? A. Opposed to what?

Q. Of the Soviet Union? A. I don't think so. When I have written on subjects which were pertinent to that, I don't



think that there has been a clash of views, because of the fundamental precept of Marxism-Leninism in each case.

16458 Q. Now, at the trial in Baltimore, didn't you state at one time in your testimony that the Party had never stood for the overthrow of government by force and violence? A. I am confident that I did, because I believe that.

Q. When you were confronted with a quotation from Foster's book, "From Bryan to Stalin" as follows: "We need look only to the fascist terror in Germany, Italy and Spain to realize the correctness of this whole analysis of Lenin's analysis of the futility of the social reformists' plan of bringing socialism through purely parliamentary acts," did you not then say that the first part of that quoted sentence was an illustration of the Marxist-Leninist concept of violence and terror coming from Fascist minority, and that the second part of the sentence would not have been asserted by Foster for the past 13 years? A. That's right.

Q. So on one day down there you said that the party had never advocated force and violence, and then a day or two later, when you were under cross examination and were confronted with that quotation from Foster's book, you practically admitted that the Party at one time did so advocate? A. No, Mr. Paisley, that is not correct. Do you want me to explain that?

Q. Yes, I would like to know what you meant, that Foster wouldn't have asserted that for 13 years. A. Because objective conditions have changed so that it is the belief now, which has been developing in the whole Communist movement, that the forces of Socialism are so strong and are going so strong and that with the whole policy of the United Front and Popular Front and people's government, that you can get sufficient strength to hold off the organization of counter revolutionary force and violence—Fascist elements, as in Italy and Spain and Germany, 16460 in that quotation, so that you would not have to

have resistance to this counter revolutionary force and violence. Do you see my point?

Q. What was the significance of your statement there about the past 13 years that he wouldn't have asserted that for the past 13 years? A. Because the analysis of the world situation has changed because of the change in objective conditions, and the feeling now is very prevalent amongst Communists that you have greater and greater possibility of the peaceful transition into Socialism, because the capacity of the reactionaries to organize forcible repression to the will of the people is constantly being undermined. That is the point.

Q. But prior to the 13 years ago, using your own words, the Communist Party in this country did advocate force and violence? A. No, sir.

Q. Won't you admit that? A. No. I state again what I have stated just now to you in the past five minutes. Shall I do it again?

Q. No. You don't need to do it again. I just wanted you to explain your position. A. All right. I have done the best I can.

16464 Q. All right. Then I'll ask you this question. Did not the Daily Worker publish an article on February 17, 1930, entitled "Lovestone—State's Witness" containing the following language: "This record is valuable—"  
A. Pardon me. May I interrupt. Have I been asked to identify this in any way?

Q. I am asking you if the Daily Worker didn't publish this article? If you don't know, you can say so.  
16465 If you do know, you can say so. A. Do you want me to answer that question now?

Q. No, I want to read it to you.

16466 Q. Now, I am quoting: "This record is very valuable, not only in properly evaluating political role of Lovestone as a right wing enemy of the Communist

International and the Communist Party of the United States, but also as an object lesson for all comrades of the kind of attitude toward the courts which is absolutely impermissible in a party member. It is the duty of Communists to throw every possible obstacle in the way of conviction of their fellow party members in the courts, to defend these members by all possible means, and absolutely refuse to give testimony for the state in any form. Testimony of Communists can only be given for the defense of Communists, not for the state, and then it must be based upon uncompromising defense of the party and its program. And anyone who trades his testimony to the state for personal immunity from prosecution should be unhesitatingly kicked out of the movement."

The question is, did the Daily Worker publish that article? A. I don't know, sir. I was 14 years old when that appeared.

Q. Do you deny that that is a principle of the Communist Party today? A. That is a principle, what you read.  
16467 Q. What I read? A. I assert that what you read is not any different from what I tried to say here.

MR. BROWN: Please answer the question.

MR. ABT: Would you like to see the article?

THE WITNESS: It would be helpful because some of the words I didn't like.

16468 THE WITNESS: I would offer objection to that article. I don't agree with it. I don't agree with its terminology, and particularly with the last sentence. I think it is too sweeping. I think the expression is rather sectarian. I personally have a feeling that that is an excerpt from an article. I don't think it is the whole thing.

#### RECROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. PAISLEY:

16476 Q. Who in the Army knew that you were a member of the Communist Party? A. It would be easier

in terms of any contact I had with, Mr. Paisley, as who didn't. What I am trying to say, I never questioned a superior officer and said, "Now, Colonel Allen, or whoever it is, do you know that I am a member of the Communist Party?"

I did not mean to convey that. What I mean to convey and what I say is, that my views were a matter of public knowledge.

I had written under my own name always, and did while I was in the Army. I spoke freely. I delivered the orientation lectures. People knew that, and now that you ask that, this comes to my mind.

I was publicly denounced in the press in the Hearst Press, I suppose to embarrass the government, I don't know, but

I was publicly denounced by name because I was a 16477 commissioned officer overseas, and a Communist.

Now, I was overseas, couldn't come back and so forth, wasn't even asked to, but Major General Bissell, who was then Army G-2, personally appeared before the Congressional Committee Investigating Committee, I don't remember what kind it was, and he stated that he had examined my record, that the only force and violence that I ever used, I was using then in fighting Germany, and General Bissell was kind enough to say that he wished all the officers in the United States had my record.

So this was, as I say, public knowledge. It was known in the outfit, for instance, when I was overseas. In fact, the guys knew it before I did.

16486 Q. What do you say that Lenin meant by this sentence: "We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human class concepts"? A. Exactly what I said; that is, Marxist-Leninists are materialists, historical materialists, and they do not think that morality is something which is suspended in the clouds and has no relationship to social economic reality. On the contrary.



For instance, I will give you this example. Aristotle wrote a great deal and he lived in a slave society, but you will not find a word in Aristotle condemnatory of slavery.

The reason for that is not that Aristotle had a pygmy brain or was a moral idiot. The reason for that is that since he lived in a slave society, he acquiesced and accepted it. You and I don't.

This is an example of the fact that morality is tied to socio-economic reality. That is what Lenin is saying there. Morality is not independent of social organization. It is dependent upon social organization.

Q. Do you contend then that this quotation does not mean that if testifying falsely would serve the class struggle, it would not be immoral? A. That if testifying falsely would serve the class struggle, it would not be immoral? You have so many negatives in there, I am not sure which answer conveys my meaning.

16488 Q. Well, let me put it to you this way. If testifying falsely would serve the ends of the class struggle an effort to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat, would you consider that to be immoral? A. You cannot abstract this from actual conditions. What I mean  
16489 by that is, as a general principle, as a rule I will assert to you, yes, it is immoral to testify falsely, and means and ends are conjoined and not separate, and therefore if you have a moral movement, to serve it will not require immoral ends.

It is, however, true, as I testified a moment ago, that if you have an absolute tyrannical kind of a society, which we do not have, and I hope we will not have, but if you did have,—let me be concrete. I will give you an example in terms of my own specialty.

Douglass tried to escape slavery. He is arrested. When he is arrested he is brought before a magistrate.

The magistrate says to him, "Did you try to escape from slavery? Did you write this?"

Douglass says, "No, I didn't."

Now, if you ask me which is the immoral person in this colloquy, I will say to you that the immoral person is the magistrate, and the moral person in that case was Frederick Douglass. So again it is not absolute that we are dealing with here.

In our society, in our life, and in my position, the position of my party, and with the remaining freedoms that we have in our country in the unity of means and ends, it is immoral to testify falsely. I have not done so. I would not do so.

16490 Q. It is? A. I say it is immoral.

Q. You say that the McCarran Act itself is an immoral piece of legislation, don't you? A. I do.

MR. PAISLEY: That's all I want to know. That's all.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Do you believe in testifying falsely in fighting the McCarran Act? A. No, certainly not. I have said a thousand times I testified truthfully.

Q. Despite the fact that you are most seriously opposed to the McCarran Act? A. Certainly. I want to by democratic process change it.

## II

## EXHIBITS

## Petitioner's Exhibit No. 4D

*The Communist, September 27, 1919*

Our program is clear: it calls for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. That objective will determine our actions: that goal we shall never lose sight of.

. . . . .

Capitalism is at the end of its historic mission; it is now the worst enemy of progress and civilization. Let the Communist proletariat answer!

Responding to the call of the Communist International, and building upon the basis of revolutionary experience in Europe, together with the revolutionary experience of the American movement, the Communist Party organizes for action.

On with the struggle! Unify the conscious elements of the proletariat! Make the Communist Party actually the party of the militant proletariat!

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 Petitioner's Exhibit No. 4A
*The Communist, September 27, 1919*

**THE PARTY CONSTITUTION  
ADOPTED AND ISSUED BY THE CONVENTION OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

**I. NAME AND PURPOSE**

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be **THE COMMUNIST PARTY of America**. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society.

## Petitioner's Exhibit No. 8

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE  
THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONALADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONGRESS  
JULY 17TH—AUGUST 7TH, 1920.Publishing Office of the Communist International  
Moscow, 1920

## STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the International bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically-evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of a speedy achievement of victory the International Association of Workers, which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, should possess a firm and centralized organization. To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist Party, of which the parties operating in every country form individual sections. The organized apparatus of the Communist International is to secure to the toilers of every country the possibility at any given moment of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statutes:



§ 1. The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common activity of the workers of various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes, and the realization of socialism—the first step of Communist Society.

§ 2. The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of The Communist International.

§ 3. All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

§ 4. The World Congress of all parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International, is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress confirms the programmes of the various parties comprising the Communist International. The World Congress discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics, which are connected with the activity of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organization is determined by a special regulation of the Congress; it is found necessary to strive for a speedy establishment of a standard of representation on the basis of the actual number of the members of the organization and the real influence of the party in question.

§ 5. The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the interval between the convention of World Congresses, and is responsible only to the World Congress.

§ 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is every time decided at the World Congress of the Communist International.

§ 7. A Special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or at the demand of one-half of the number of the parties which were part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

§ 8. The chief bulk of the work and greatest responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lie with the party of that country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence at the time. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this, one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Communist International from ten or twelve of the largest communist parties. The list of these representatives is to be confirmed by the Universal Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

§ 9. The Executive Committee is the leading organ of the Communist International between the conventions; the Executive Committee publishes in no less than four languages the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical "The Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International, and issues instructions obligatory on all the parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureaus, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

§ 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to include in its ranks representatives of organizations and parties not accepted in the Communist International, but which are sympathetic towards communism; these are to have a consultative vote only.

§ 11. The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International as well as of those which are recognized sympathizers of the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

§ 12. The general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes necessary for the communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee should take charge of the universal application of this rule.

§ 13. All the most important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International will generally be carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In cases of exigency direct relations will be established, with the provision, however, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be informed of them at the same time.

§ 14. The Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union sections of the Communist International delegate a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right of sending a representative with decisive vote, to the Trade Union section of the Communist International.

§ 15. The International League of Communist Youth is subordinate to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Communist Youth with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, enjoys the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive organ of the International League of Youth. Organization relations between the League of Youth and the Communist party are basically defined in every country after the same system.

§ 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International confirms the International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement, and organizes a women's section of the Communist International.

§ 17. In case a member of the Communist International goes to another country, he is to have the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

I. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE  
PROLETARIAT AND OF THE SOVIET POWER.

3. Under the circumstances which have been created in the whole world, and especially in the most advanced, most powerful, most enlightened and freest capitalist countries by militarist imperialism—oppression of colonies and weaker nations, the universal imperialist slaughter, the "peace" of Versailles—to admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of a peaceful, reformist passage to Socialism, is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois stupidity, but it is a direct deception of the workmen, a disguise of capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth. This truth is that the bourgeoisie, the most enlightened and democratic portion of the bourgeoisie, is even now not stopping at deceit and



crime, at the slaughter of millions of workmen and peasants, in order to retain the right of private ownership over the means of production. Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repression of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

## II. IN WHAT SHOULD THE IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CONSIST?

In every organization, union, association—beginning with the proletarian ones at first, and afterwards in all those of the nonproletarian workers and exploited masses (political, professional, military, co-operative, educational, sporting, etc., etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of Communists—mostly open ones, but also secret ones which become necessary in each case when the arrest or exile of their members or the dispersal of their organization is threatened; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central Party, exchanging experiences, carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organization, adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the working masses, must systematically train themselves, the Party, the class, and the masses by such multiform work.

For all countries, even for most free “legal” and “peaceful” ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle, the period has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist party to join system-

atically lawful and unlawful work, lawful and unlawful organization.

In the most enlightened and free countries, with a most "solid" bourgeois-democratic regime, the governments are systematically recurring, in spite of their false and hypocritical assurances, to the method of keeping secret lists of Communists; to endless violations of their constitutions for the semi-secret support of White Guards and the murder of Communists in all countries; to secret preparations for the arrest of Communists; the introduction of provocateurs among the Communists, etc. Only the most reactionary petty bourgeoisie, by whatever high-sounding "democratic" or pacifist phrases it might disguise its ideas, can dispute this fact or the necessary conclusion; an immediate formation by all lawful Communist parties of unlawful organizations for systematic unlawful work, for their complete preparation at any moment to thwart any steps on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the army, navy, and police, as, after the imperialist slaughter, all the governments in the world are becoming afraid of the national armies, open to all peasants and workingmen, and they are setting up in secret all kinds of select military organizations recruited from the bourgeoisie and especially provided with improved technical equipment.

On the other hand, it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to limit oneself to unlawful work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organizations under the most diverse, and in case of need, frequently changing names. This is now being done by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, in part in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It is thus that the I. W. W. in America should act, as well as all the lawful Communist parties at present, in case prosecutors start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, etc.

The absolute necessity of the principle of unlawful and lawful work is determined not only by the total aggregate of

all the peculiarities of the given moment, on the very eve of a proletarian dictatorship, but by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie, that there is not and can not be any branch of the work of which the Communists have not possessed themselves, and still more by the fact that everywhere there are still wide circles of the proletariat and greater ones of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, which still trust in the bourgeois democracy, the discussion of which is our most important duty.

For the struggle against this state of things the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen:

1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, learn to utilize the slightest liberty allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviks did at the "time of the Tsar," after 1905.

2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the workingmen (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

#### CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The

entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions or co-operatives,—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre," and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where, in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.



4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself

to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" Imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workingmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programmes should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the programme of each party belonging to the Communist Interna-



tional should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should alter their name. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of the renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeoisie world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank-and-file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire



to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, FACTORY COMMITTEES,  
AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advance guard of the workers' revolutions. For this purpose the Communists should have Communist factions in all the trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means an influence over the labor movement and direct it.

## THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS.

## A.) THESES.

The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over Imperialism.

It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of the workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

## Petitioner's Exhibit No. 11

*The Communist, August 1, 1920*

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA  
ADOPTED AT ITS SECOND CONVENTION

*Political and Mass Action.*

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, to conquer political power, destroy the bourgeois state machinery and establish

the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government in the transition period from capitalism to Communism.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is of secondary importance—for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

**Petitioner's Exhibit No. 12**

**THE COMMUNIST NO. 9**

**OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF AMERICA**

**INTERNATIONAL DECIDES U. C. P. AND C. P. MUST UNITE**

The following statement appears in the minutes of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

The first month of the activity of the new Executive Committee of the Communist International, which had been formed on the 7th of August, was almost entirely dedicated to the most immediate problem of the movement, namely, to the consolidation of the Communist parties of every country, the elimination of the opportunist elements from them and the amalgamation of all truly Communist forces.

The sitting of the Executive Committee of the 8th and 10th of August were devoted to the questions of the American and the British movement. With regard to the first question the Executive Committee has decided to amalgamate both the American Communist Parties, the United Communist Party and the Communist Party into a single party.

The United Communist Party welcomes the decision of the Executive Committee of the International. Its policy has been consistently that of seeking to unite all the Communist elements in one organization. It will give all the aid within its power to the Executive Committee of the International to accomplish that end.

**Petitioner's Exhibit No. 13**

*The Communist, Vol. I, No. 1, July*

**THE COMMUNIST**

**OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF AMERICA**

**(SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)**

**PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF AMERICA**

**ADOPTED BY THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA**

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, defines the aims and processes of the proletarian revolution as follows:

The proletariat, once having learned the disastrous consequences of "Social-Democratic" bolstering up of the bourgeois State, throws its support to the Communists. Under pressure of the economic chaos, and led by the Communist Party, the proletariat forms its organs of working class power entirely separate and distinct from the bourgeois State. These organs are the Workers' Soviets (councils) which arise at the moment of the revolutionary outbreak and attain a dominant position, during the course of the revolution.



By the use of force, the proletariat destroys the machinery of the bourgeois State and establishes the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power.

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

## 2. GREETINGS TO THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, in joint Unity Convention, send fraternal greetings to the Third World Congress of the Communist International. In the name of the revolutionary proletariat of America, we affirm our determination to fight under the banner of the Communist International for the overthrow of American imperialism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Hail to the International Soviet Republic! Long live the Communist International!

## 3. GREETINGS TO THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, assembled in joint Unity Convention, send fraternal greetings to the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry of Soviet Russia and to its vanguard, the Russian Communist Party.

The unified party, the Communist Party of America, declares that it will render all possible assistance to the Russian Soviet Republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary bands of the world imperialism. The Communist Party of America declares that only by the overthrow of world imperialism will the safety and mastery of the Soviet Republic over its enemies be definitely assured. The

Communist Party of America pledges itself to rally the revolutionary proletariat of America for the annihilation of the most formidable stronghold of world imperialism: the American capitalist state, and to struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Down with world imperialism! Hail to the universal Soviet Republic! Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

#### 4. TO THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Unity Convention of the Communist of America and the United Communist Party of America fully upholds and endorses the firm and uncompromising stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International against the opportunistic and centrist elements in various countries—in Italy (Serrati), and in Germany (Levi). The convention instructs its delegates to the third world congress to uphold and defend the stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

(ADOPTED AT THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.)

#### *Article I. Name, Purpose and Emblem.*

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced class conscious and therefore its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 3. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle between sheaves of wheat and within a double circle. Below the hammer and sickle the words "All power to the workers." In the circular margin the words "Communist Party of America—Section of the Communist International."


**Petitioner's Exhibit No. 23**

*The Daily Worker, New York, Friday, September 2, 1927*

**"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY", SAYS GREETING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

In the country of the most powerful imperialism and a most brutal capitalist class the Communist Party can fulfill its duty and can become the leader of the working class against imperialism and capitalist aggression only if it is united and if it is not torn to pieces by factional struggle.

The Comintern considers as one of the central tasks of the Party the extermination of all factionalism and the unification organizationally as well as ideologically. It will be the duty of the newly elected Central Executive Committee to lead the Party in a non-factional spirit and it will be the duty of the whole Party membership to rally around the Central Executive Committee which it itself shall have chosen.

 PRESIDIUM,

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## Petitioner's Exhibit No. 24

*The Daily Worker, September 6, 1927*WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY CABLES REPLY TO COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL TO GREETING TO FIFTH CONVENTION

"The Fifth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party greets the international leader of the working class, the Communist International. Under its leadership and with our own firm and unanimous determination to unify our Party, we will overcome the tremendous difficulties in the path of building a mass Communist Party in America. The Convention recognizes fully as Party's task the winning of the American proletariat for the revolutionary struggle against American imperialism.

"In the execution of this task we are inspired and guided by the principles of Marxism and Leninism, by the experiences of the victorious struggles of the Russian proletariat and the heroic battles of the exploited and oppressed masses of Europe and Asia. The Convention and the incoming Central Executive Committee pledge themselves speedily to eliminate all remnants of factionalism and to unify the Party as a prerequisite for the further success of our work.

"We pledge the unification of our Party and to fight more effectively for the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution and against the war danger as well as to resist more effectively the offensive of the capitalist reaction and the reactionary trade union bureaucracy against our Party and the militant section of the American working class.

"The Convention is spurred by a full consciousness of its duty to recruit the toiling masses of America for relentless struggle against American imperialism.

"Long Live the Soviet Union!

"Long Live the Communist International!

"Fifth National Convention,

"Workers (Communist) Party."



**Petitioner's Exhibit No. 28A***Daily Worker, March 5, 1929***PARTY CONVENTION GREETES COMINTERN**

We greet our Communist International leadership and pledge our Convention and our Party to prepare itself, to strengthen itself, to clarify itself, for its share of this task. It will close its ranks, it will cleanse its ideology from the poison of opportunism, it will defeat Trotskyism, it will mobilize against and lead the American proletariat for the struggle against the imperialist war; it will mobilize the American workers for the defense of our Soviet Union and for the final defeat of American imperialism by the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalist rule.

Long Live Leninism!

Long Live the Communist International!

**Petitioner's Exhibit No. 31**

**MANIFESTO  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
BY**

**KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS**

Authorized English Translation

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**PREFACE**

**BY FRIEDRICH ENGELS**

The *Manifesto* being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which

forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles form a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

#### BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat.

The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role in history.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the

workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.

### PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: Formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

## POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING OPPOSITION PARTIES

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

### Petitioner's Exhibit No. 32A-B

*The Daily Worker, July 12, 1924*

RUTHENBERG AND FOSTER ELECTED TO COMINTERN

*Dunne Represents U. S. Party In Moscow*

Dunne will officially represent the party at the Communist International headquarters during the coming year. Foster, Workers Party candidate for President of the United States, and Ruthenberg, party secretary, will remain in America. Dunne's experience in the trade union movement is expected to be of great use to the international movement. The trade union question has assumed tremendous importance in key countries which may fall into line with Soviet Russia by setting up workers' and farmers' governments in the near future.

In Germany, especially, the question of Communist policy in the trade unions has become most vital. There the Communist International is directing the workers to stay with in yellow unions wherever it is possible in order that the radicals who must lead the revolution may not be divided from their fellows.



### Only Revolutionary Force.

The Communist International is going into the next year of struggle against the international capitalists with a confidence that comes from strength and from a knowledge of revolutionary tactics based on the party's experience in the last years. It is the one internationally revolutionary force, organised to overcome the common enemy.

#### Petitioner's Exhibit No. 39

### REPORT OF THE WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

#### 1. ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The year 1925 was a year of tremendous production, showing substantial increases over 1924. The production of coal in 1925 was 517 million tons as compared with 508 million tons in 1924; of steel  $44\frac{1}{2}$  million tons as compared with  $37\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. For the first eleven months of 1925 new building construction totalled  $5\frac{1}{4}$  billion dollars, which is 19% more than the entire year of 1924. The production of automobiles for 1925 reached the record figure of  $4\frac{3}{4}$  million, which is 20% higher than in 1924. Imports for 1925 totalled over 4 billions, as compared with 3 billions in 1924. Exports in 1925 revealed approximately  $4\frac{1}{2}$  billions, as against  $3\frac{1}{2}$  billions in 1924. For the first 10 months of 1923 the total capital flotations amounted to almost 5 billions, as against  $4\frac{3}{4}$  billions for the whole year of 1924. The capital export for the first 11 months of 1925 was approximately 1 billion dollars, reaching the same high record as 1924, which included the big loans based upon the Dawes plan.

Amongst the farmers the situation is becoming critical, especially in the West. In Iowa, a typical grain growing state, reports come of acute distress among the farmers. The prices for corn received by the farmers has dropped

50% in the past 33 months, which is less than the cost of production. Prices of all other agricultural products in the grain growing districts are also declining, thus impoverishing the farmers and throwing them more than ever into the clutches of the banks. Signs of the agricultural crisis are multiplying. Many banks have failed in the West.

During the past year real wages of American workers have fallen. Wage rates on the average have remained almost stationary, with a few favored categories of skilled workers securing increases, with the unskilled in several industries suffering decreases. The cost of living is rising.

## 2. POLITICAL SITUATION

The American situation is marked by more open and frank domination of the Government by big capital and the intensification of the imperialist spirit and policies.

The agricultural crisis is producing renewed political activity among the farming masses. This is evidenced by the revival of the farm bloc in congress by pressure from below, the defeat of reactionaries in the farmers' organizations who support the Coolidge policies, increases activities among farmers' organizations generally and intensification of the struggle between the poor and rich farmers in these organizations.

Among the lower ranks of the farmers in the West, among their more conscious elements, there is evidence of increased activity for the formation of Farmer Labor parties, and for the revival of various La Follette groups. In such movements the more conscious elements among the farmers seek alliances with the workers and the urban petty bourgeois elements who feel the pressure of the trusts. With the approach of the congressional elections in the latter part of

this year these movements will take on more concrete and definite forms.

The workers, not yet fully recovered from the effects of the defeats in the big strikes of 1919-23 and in the La Follette movements of 1924, have not displayed great activity during this period upon either the economic or political field. It has been a period of comparatively few strikes, in spite of the high rate of production, increases in living costs, and the failure of wages to rise accordingly. Small strikes against wage cuts and for wage increases have occurred in the building, textile, clothing, marine transport industries. The most important struggle is that of the 158,000 anthracite coal miners for increases in wages and the right to organize, which has been on since September 1st. The bituminous miners, whose union is being cut to pieces are preparing to submit demands and will find themselves in a life and death struggle with the employers in the coming summer. Certain skilled categories of railroad workers are also submitting demands. In the clothing trades the failure of the bureaucracy to lead the workers in the struggle against the employers is the central cause for the upheaval which is rapidly bringing all the unions in this industry, totaling 300,000 organized workers, under the leadership of the left wing.

### 3. THE TRADE UNIONS.

The American trade unions are taking a new orientation towards a more intensified and elaborated class collaboration with the employers in the fields of the industries finance, domestic politics, and international relations. The economic and political bases of this new orientation is found in the fact that the American imperialists in their aggressive fight for world domination, feel the double need for cheaper production and peaceful relations with labor and that American capitalism, tremendously enriched by the extra profits of its imperial exploitation, is willing and